000 /135/ Table of Contents

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● 122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

114 After I had spent the months of August, September, and October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a [123] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era. [797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all [177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the [203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual ● [122] tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the !Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the !Kung of Nyae Nyae, !Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany. 121

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September. 122

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them. 133 [134] [312] [136] [132] 136 137X

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport 1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 133 [134] [132] 137X

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

• 122 It is a great pleasure to be able to thank at least some of the people and institutions who have made possible this study of the Kalahari Bushmen. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation to Dr. Irven Devore for "Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior". This grant was administered by Harvard University. [114] The government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was kind enough to issue a research permit to Dr. Devore and me for the period 1963-65. The Directors of the Livingstone Museum[1], Livingstone Zambia allowed us to use the museum as a base of operations during the study period, and graciously placed the clerical and research facilities of the museum at our disposal.

000 I am grateful for the initial encouragement and continuing guidance of my undergraduate and graduate teachers, particularly Professors Ronald Cohen[2], Robert C. Dailey, and J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto; and Professors Sherwood L. Washburn and J. Desmond Clark at the University of California, Berkeley.

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1. formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.
2. at present at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

I. INTRODUCTION

121 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field
114 investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research
122 was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation
121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.